

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 233 346

CS 267 629

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TITLE Explaining Magazine Readership with Uses-and-Gratifications Research.
PUB DATE Aug 83
NOTE 25p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (66th, Corvallis, OR, August 6-9, 1983).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adults; Audiences; *Behavior Patterns; *Media Research; *Periodicals; Predictor Variables; *Reading Habits; *Research Methodology; Surveys
IDENTIFIERS *Readership Analysis; *Uses and Gratifications Research

ABSTRACT

Approximately 500 people participated in a study that examined the relationship between generalized uses-and-gratifications statements and specific magazine reading behaviors. The subjects responded to a telephone survey that elicited information concerning demographics, media usage, and reactions to 14 uses-and-gratifications statements that had received widespread use in the print media studies prior to 1981. The statements were organized into three broad categories concerned with surveillance of, diversion from, and interaction with the surrounding environment. Results showed that the statements distinguished between people who had read a magazine during the previous month and those who had not, with the former using magazines to help them interact with the larger social environment and the latter producing unspecific explanations of their behavior. The statements also proved useful in distinguishing among subscribers, readers, and nonreaders of general consumer magazines and newsmagazines. In terms of overall magazine readership, interaction with the larger environment was the strongest predictor, even though it emerged as secondary to surveillance for newsmagazine readers and to diversion for general consumer magazine readers. (FL)

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MAGAZINE DIVISION

EXPLAINING MAGAZINE READERSHIP WITH
USES-AND-GRATIFICATIONS RESEARCH

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Presented to the Magazine Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, annual convention, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon, August 1983.

CS 207629

EXPLAINING MAGAZINE READERSHIP WITH USES-AND-GRATIFICATIONS RESEARCH

Since 1962, when Elihu Katz and David Foulkes defined uses-and-gratifications as an emphasis on what people did with media rather than on what media did to people,¹ research in the concept of an active audience has shown increasing vogue in the scholarly literature. Much of the recent research, however, has focused on newspaper,² television,³ or both⁴--mass media aimed at broad, generalized audiences. The more targeted media of magazine and radio have been neglected in the research, despite the stronger audience focus of these two media. Because magazine and radio are targeted toward specific audiences rather than to the generalized audiences of newspaper and television, the former two media offer an excellent opportunity for uses-and-gratifications research since their more fragmented audiences are called upon to be even more active in their seeking of the magazine and radio mass media. The purpose of this study is to examine the active audience of magazine readership by using the uses-and-gratifications research perspectives.

Within the uses-and-gratifications literature, a single recent study has included magazine readership in its measurement. In 1983, Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld studied 336 undergraduates and found strong similarities among uses-and-gratifications statements applied to both newspapers and magazines, particularly in terms of keeping up with the way the government does its job.⁵ They also found that respondents were more likely to view magazines as entertainment than they were newspapers.⁶ These

findings were limited because Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld used undergraduates instead of a representative sample of the population as respondents, and because the authors examined the generalized concept of magazine, without involving any of the specific behaviors related to magazine reading such as subscribing versus reading and newsmagazine versus general consumer magazine.

Because of the lack of specificity in the Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld report, this study will focus on studying the relationship between generalized uses-and-gratifications statements and specific magazine-reading behaviors. In the absence of an extensive research literature in this area, the study will test two specific hypotheses:

- H₁: Magazines will be used for monitoring topics of importance such as government activities and major news events.
- H₂: Magazines will be used for their readers' enjoyment, providing entertainment and relaxation.

Note that Hypothesis 1 is basically information-oriented, while Hypotheses 2 is basically entertainment-oriented.

Method

During fall 1981, a telephone survey of 543 persons was conducted in a large urban area of the western United States. Questions were asked concerning demographics, media usage, and reactions to a selection of uses-and-gratifications statements.

Interviews were conducted by trained undergraduates enrolled in an advanced research methods class, and each completed interview was verified through a second telephone call from students in an introductory course.

Since the survey was conducted before Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld's 1983 reporting of their study, exactly the same uses-and-gratifications statements could not be used for this study. Instead, this study used a set of fourteen statements that had received widespread usage in terms of print media within the uses-and-gratifications literature prior to 1981.⁷

Respondents could respond strongly agree, agree, neutral/no opinion, disagree, or strongly disagree to each of the fourteen statements in terms of their applicability to what they thought about magazines in general.

These statements were organized into three broad groupings: (1) obtaining information about the surrounding world, often called surveillance of the environment; (2) relaxing, escaping, and passing time with entertainment materials, often called diversion from the surrounding environment; and (3) preparing for anticipated conversations with others or for other interpersonal activities in the larger social order, often called interaction with the surrounding environment.⁸ Since Lichtenstein and Rosenfeld's surveillance of government finding would fall within the purview of surveillance, and their entertainment finding within diversion, the use of different statements would be expected to produce slightly different specific findings, but

would not be expected to produce drastically different general findings.

The completed questionnaires were coded and keypunched, then analyzed using version 8.00 of SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

Results

Analysis of the data needed to accomplish two goals: first, establishing that the fourteen uses-and-gratifications statements could be clearly applied to magazine readership as well as they had been applied to newspaper readership; and second, using the fourteen statements to predict different magazine reading behaviors.

To establish the viability of the fourteen statements in terms of magazines, the technique of factor analysis was used to determine if the variables used in this study would produce factor structures similar to the structures produced by the preceding literature. Table 1 shows the solution of a principal components, varimax orthogonal rotation factor analysis.

Table 1

As expected, the magazine replies to the fourteen statements produced three clearly identifiable factors related to surveillance, diversion and interaction. Factor One produced its strongest loadings on statements such as "Get information to pass along to other people," and so can be interpreted as

reflecting interaction with the social environment. Factor Two produced its strongest loadings on diversion statements such as "By being my friend when I am alone," "Be happy," and "Just pass the time." And, finally, Factor Three loaded strongly on statements such as "Get immediate knowledge of big news events," reflecting the expected surveillance dimension. Overall, the resulting three factors reflected the concepts of interaction, diversion, and surveillance respectively, indicating that these three generalized concepts applied as readily to magazine readership as to newspaper readership, and so could be used for meaningful analyses.

Reading magazines. Since the fourteen statements had produced the expected conceptual structure, they were then used to predict specific magazine behaviors. The technique of discriminant analyses was used to analyze the data because the strongly disagree to strongly agree replies to the fourteen statements were coded from one to five so could be considered interval data, and because magazine behaviors such as read versus not-read and newsmagazines versus general magazines could only be considered nominal data. Basically, discriminant analysis takes a series of interval data independent variables such as the replies to the fourteen uses-and-gratifications statements, and develops predictions for nominal level dependent variables such as read versus not-read magazines.⁹

Table 2

Table 2 shows the discriminant analyses of the relation between the fourteen uses-and-gratifications statements and the dependent variable distinction between reading versus not reading magazines during the last month. The first column shows the statements that produced the statistically best explanation of the relationship. The relative strength of these variables in this relationship is shown by the discriminant functions, which are shown down the second column for the independent variables and across the rows for the dependent variables. The negative function (-0.157) for "Read magazine(s)" indicates that it is related to the uses-and-gratifications statements with negative functions such as "Understand what is going on" (-0.448). Conversely, "Did not read" (+0.712) is related to the statements with positive functions such as "Keep me informed about what is happening in my local community" (+0.336). Please note that the positive and negative signs do not have any conceptual meaning here; they are simply technical indicators of relationships.

Because discriminant functions are often difficult to interpret intuitively, the third and fourth columns of Table 2 show the arithmetic mean of the replies of readers and non-readers of magazines to each statement. For example, magazine readers replied with a mean of 3.59 to "Understand what is going on," while non-readers replied with a mean of 2.97. Since the data were coded so that the strongly agree had a value of 5,

while strongly disagree had a value of 1, these findings indicate that magazine readers were stronger in their agreement with "Understand what is going on" than were non-readers. In general, because the data were coded in this manner, the stronger the agreement with a statement, the higher the mean score for replies to that statement. In this example, the readers showed stronger agreement than did the non-readers.

Examination of Table 2 indicated that readers could be characterized by strong replies to the interaction statements of "Understand what is going on" (mean = 3.59) and "Get information to pass on to other people" (mean = 3.72). Note that although the second mean (3.72) is higher than the first mean (3.59), the lower mean is a stronger predictor for magazine readers because it has a greater difference from the respective non-reader means: (first mean: $3.59 - 2.97 = 0.62$ versus second mean: $3.72 - 3.12 = 0.60$). Overall, these findings indicate that readers were more strongly oriented toward the interaction statements than were non-readers.

Further examination of Table 2 indicated that magazine readers were also strongly oriented toward the diversion statements of "Be entertained" (mean = 3.88) and "Improve the quality of my lifestyle" (mean = 3.41), indicating that diversion was a strong secondary reason for magazine readers.

Table 2 also indicated that non-readers of magazines did not produce a similar level of strong results. The means of non-readers on their two strongest statements, "By being my

friend when I am alone" (mean = 2.94) and "Keep me informed about what is happening in my local community" (mean = 2.57), were lower than comparable means for magazine readers (means = 3.12 and 2.62, respectively). These differences indicated an overall weakness on the statements among persons who do not read magazines. Further, the types of statements finally emerging were much less applicable conceptually to magazines than were the statements related to readers: companionship and local information simply lack the intuitive explanatory appeal of understanding and being entertained.

Overall, Table 2 indicated that readers of magazines were different from non-readers in terms of their stronger orientations toward interaction and diversion statements. This distinction was far from universal, however. As Table 2 indicates, using this basic distinction 71.4 percent of the replies were classified correctly--far from perfect, but better than the 50 percent (even chance) that could be expected from haphazard guessing.

Other magazine behaviors. One limitation of comparing readers versus non-readers of magazines is that it does not allow for specific distinctions within magazine reading behaviors such as types of magazines read and the difference between subscribing, which brings magazines regularly into the home, and reading, a less regular experience that depends on factors such as newstand purchases and passalong readership. To explore

potential relations among these distinctions, the study also examined readership of newsmagazines and general consumer magazines in terms of the fourteen uses-and-gratifications statements.

Table 3

Table 3 shows the discriminant analysis solution related to distinctions among subscribers, readers, and non-readers of newsmagazines. The row discriminant functions indicate that subscribers (-0.436) and readers (-0.767) are distinct from non-readers (+0.199).

Examination of Table 3 indicated that subscribers and readers produced their strongest discriminant functions on the surveillance statements of "Get more information on things I've seen. . . ." (-0.491), "Get immediate knowledge of big news events" (-0.358), and "Get exciting, dramatic and entertaining news" (-0.330). Subscribers and readers also produced strong functions for the interaction statements of "Get information to pass on to other people" (-0.347) and "Understand what is going on" (-0.226). Overall, these findings indicated that newsmagazine readers were interested in the surveillance of the surrounding environment, and in interaction with that environment.

Non-readers in Table 3, however, showed a different orientation. Their strongest statement was the surveillance statement of "Keep me informed about what is happening in my local community" (+0.562), followed by three statements from the diversion

factor. These findings indicated that non-readers of news-magazines were more oriented to local events and to amusing themselves than were newsmagazine subscribers and readers.

Overall, Table 3 can be interpreted as reflecting the more cosmopolitan orientations of subscribers and readers of news-magazines. The orientation of these newsmagazine proponents to surveillance of and interaction with the environment can be interpreted as an interest in being plugged into the larger stream of events. The local surveillance and stronger diversion orientations of the newsmagazine non-readers bespeaks a more provincial interest in the world, and a greater interest in amusement than in information.

Further, examination of the means in Table 3 indicates that newsmagazine subscribers show strong orientations toward the surveillance statement of "Get immediate knowledge of big news events" (3.01) and the interaction statements of "Get information to pass on to other people" (3.84) and "Understand what is going on" (3.74). On the other hand, readers of newsmagazines show stronger orientation toward the two surveillance statements of "Get more information on things I've seen. . . ." (3.52) and "Get exciting, dramatic, and entertaining news" (also 3.52). These differences can be interpreted to mean subscribers have a greater orientation toward being plugged into the whole environment, and so require the constant contact of a subscription's regular delivery. Readers have a much more personalized orientation that can be satisfied by irregular contact related

to specific events or interests. In short, subscribers appear characterized by a general orientation toward the entire environment, while readers have a much more personalized and event-driven orientation. This difference could account for the importance of spot news coverage and cover story in selling newsmagazines.

Again, the explanation must be regarded as far from perfect. The discriminant analysis could classify only 49.17 percent of the respondents accurately. While this figure is better than the 33 percent (one chance in three) that could be expected from just guessing, it indicates a great deal of development is still needed.

General consumer magazines. Because newsmagazines can be interpreted as being primarily informational and secondarily entertaining, the study also considered general consumer magazines as an alternative that is primarily entertaining and secondarily informational. Because of the wide range of consumer magazines covering interests from Popular Mechanics to Playgirl, readers and subscribers of any consumer magazine had to be considered without regard to specific magazine content (or photography).

Table 4

Table 4 shows the discriminant analysis that resulted from comparing the fourteen uses-and-gratifications statements with

subscribers, readers, and non-readers of general consumer magazines. Again, readers (+0.107) and subscribers (+0.279) were distinguished from non-readers (-0.468); and, again, non-readers showed a provincial surveillance orientation toward "Keep me informed about what is happening in my local community," (-0.329).

Examination of Table 4 indicated that although subscribers and readers of general consumer magazines could be seen as oriented to diversion (which would be expected of entertainment-oriented magazines) and interaction (which would be expected from more cosmopolitan orientations), differences between the two groups still emerged.

Among the six most predictive statements in Table 4 for reading general consumer magazines, subscribers showed stronger mean scores for the diversion statements of "Improve the quality of my lifestyle" (3.51) and the two interaction statements of "Understand what is going on" (3.58) and "Find issues affecting people like myself" (3.75). On the other hand, readers of general consumer magazines showed stronger orientations toward the interaction statements of "Get information to pass along to other people" (3.78) and the two diversion statements of "Find products through advertisements" (3.51) and "Just pass the time" (3.77).

These findings can be interpreted as meaning that subscribers of general consumer magazines are more strongly oriented toward the idea of improving life for themselves, while readers

are more oriented toward reacting to the climate of opinion outside themselves. Such a self-orientation would explain the constant, on-going relation of subscribers to general consumer magazines, using the magazine as a tool for personal growth within the larger environment. Readers, on the other hand, would be more sporadic in their involvement, using the magazine as a tool for keeping up with trends and fads rather than for embellishing commitments. Overall, the results could be interpreted as finding subscribers to be cosmopolitan and committed, readers to be cosmopolitan and reactive, and non-readers to be provincial and just plain uninterested.

Again, such an explanation must be regarded as tentative at best. The discriminant analyses in Table 4 classified only 47.70 percent of the respondents correctly. Again, although this figure is better than the 33 percent expected by guessing, it also indicates much room for improvement in using the uses-and-gratifications statements as predictors of magazine readership behavior.

Conclusions

Overall, the results of the study indicated that widely employed uses-and-gratifications statements can be applied to magazine readership behaviors, and that such applications would produce meaningful results. Specifically, the fourteen uses-and-gratifications statements in this study first distinguished between persons who read a magazine during the past month and

those persons who did not, with the former using magazines to help them interact with the larger social environment and with the latter producing unspecific explanations of their behavior.

Further, when the specific behaviors of exposure to news-magazines and general consumer magazines were examined, the fourteen statements also proved useful in distinguishing among subscribers, readers, and non-readers. In terms of newsmagazines, both subscribers and readers were found to have a more cosmopolitan interest in the larger social environment than did non-readers of newsmagazines. Additionally, subscribers to newsmagazines had a more generalized interest in the larger environment, while readers were more reactive to special events or particular interests, accounting for the steady commitment of the subscribers, and the much more sporadic commitment of the readers. In terms of general consumer magazines, subscribers and readers again were more cosmopolitan in their interests than were non-readers, with subscribers more committed to using the magazine for self-improvement and readers more oriented to self-enhancement in their relations with others.

In terms of the hypotheses, the findings were somewhat different from what had been expected. Hypothesis 1 argued that surveillance of the surrounding world would be a strong explanation of magazine readership. This expectation was supported for the newsmagazines, with both subscribers and readers endorsing the concept of monitoring the larger social order as an explanation of their readership behavior. A key addition from

this study, however, was that subscribers had a more generalized and on-going interest in the stream of events, while readers had a more sporadic interest in particular events and topics.

Hypothesis 1 was not supported, however, for general consumer magazines, where the enjoyment concept of diversion was a stronger force in fostering readership. This latter finding indicated that type of magazine is an important consideration in discussing whether magazine readership is motivated by the informational orientation of surveillance or by the enjoyment orientation of diversion. Further, the study also pointed out that degree of commitment was important in distinguishing subscribers from readers, with subscribers oriented toward a form of on-going self-improvement, and readers more oriented toward more sporadic self-enhancement in their relations with others. At best, the study provided mixed support for Hypothesis 1.

The study also provided mixed support for Hypothesis 2, which argued for diversion from the surrounding world as an explanation of magazine readership. The findings for this hypothesis were the reverse of Hypothesis 1, with diversion rather than surveillance related to general consumer magazine exposure. This finding is consistent with the notion that news-magazines are primarily informational and used for surveillance of the social environment, while general consumer magazines are primarily entertainment and used for diversion from the general social environment. Taken together, the mixed support for Hypotheses 1 and 2 indicates that specifying the type of

magazine under consideration is an important procedure in re-searching uses-and-gratifications for magazines.

If a single concept does apply to overall magazine readership, the likely candidate appears to be interaction with the larger social environment. Although not hypothesized in the uses-and-gratifications literature on magazines, this concept of involvement with the surrounding world transferred very well from its use with the more generalized media of newspapers and television. In terms of overall magazine readership, interaction with the larger environment was the strongest predictor, even though it emerged as secondary to surveillance for news-magazine readership and as secondary to diversion for general consumer magazine readership. The continued re-emergence of the interaction factor indicates that degree of involvement, either in the stream of news for newsmagazines or in personal growth activities for general consumer magazines, is an important force in explaining magazine readership. Generally speaking, greater involvement appeared to foster higher levels of magazine readership.

Despite the appeal of these findings, the helpfulness of uses-and-gratifications statements in explaining magazine readership is still limited. Although the statements were an improvement over simple chance in explaining and predicting magazine readership, the strength of the predictions was far from overwhelming. At least some of this weakness can be explained in terms of the necessity of employing uses-and-gratifications

statements developed in explaining the more generalized media of newspapers and television. Because of these generalized orientations, the wording of the statements themselves may not have been completely appropriate for the specific medium of magazines. On the conceptual level, however, another possibility is that additional or more refined treatments of surveillance, diversion, and interaction may be required to improve explanations of magazine readership. In either case, the need for great predictive strength mandates additional work in this area, but the success of the existing uses-and-gratifications augurs well for the success of such an enterprise. At present, uses-and-gratifications provides a far from perfect explanation of magazine readership, but its conceptual soundness points toward greater strength and refinement in the future.

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Table 1

Factor Analysis of Uses-and-Gratifications Statements

Applied to Magazine

	FACTORS			Estimated Communality
	I	II	III	
Get information to pass along to other people	<u>0.74</u>	0.23	0.13	0.45
Find interesting or unusual stories that I can tell to others	<u>0.59</u>	0.29	0.17	0.41
Understand what is going on	<u>0.50</u>	0.17	0.45	0.42
Find issues affecting people like myself	<u>0.50</u>	0.21	0.30	0.36
By being my friend when I am alone	0.16	<u>0.63</u>	0.09	0.34
Be happy	0.11	<u>0.59</u>	0.14	0.33
Just pass the time	0.11	<u>0.59</u>	-0.04	0.30
Be entertained	0.35	<u>0.91</u>	0.02	0.36
Find products through advertisements	0.25	<u>0.39</u>	0.15	0.23
Improve the quality of my lifestyle	0.27	<u>0.36</u>	0.27	0.28
Get immediate knowledge of big news events	0.11	-0.08	<u>0.68</u>	0.32
Keep me informed about what is happening in my local community	0.07	0.11	<u>0.60</u>	0.27
Get exciting, dramatic, entertaining news	0.38	0.22	<u>0.50</u>	0.41
Get more information on things I've seen such as movies, sports events, or accidents.	0.31	0.14	<u>0.44</u>	0.30
Eigenvalue(s):	4.57	1.74	1.04	----
Percent of Variance:	32.6	12.4	7.5	----
Cumulative Percent:	32.6	45.0	52.5	----

Table 2

Mean Replies to Key Uses-and-Gratifications
Statements For Read Magazine(s) Within Past Month

		Dependent Variable(s) (Discriminant Functions in Parentheses)	
		Read magazine(s) (-0.157)	Did not read (+0.712)
Independent Variables: (Discriminant Functions in Parentheses)			
Understand what is going on	(-0.448)	<u>3.59</u>	2.97
Get information to pass on to other people	(-0.415)	<u>3.72</u>	3.12
Be entertained	(-0.396)	<u>3.88</u>	3.46
Improved the quality of my lifestyle	(-0.290)	<u>3.41</u>	2.93
Find issues affecting people like myself	(-0.182)	<u>3.65</u>	3.18
Keep me informed about what is happening in my local community	(+0.336)	2.62	<u>2.57</u>
By being my friend when I am alone	(+0.382)	3.12	<u>2.94</u>
Number of Respondents:		<u>444</u>	<u>98</u>
Eigenvalue(s):	0.11		
Canonical Correlation:	0.32		
Wilks' Lambda:	0.90		
Chi-square Goodness-of-fit = 57.19; (df=7); p 0.01			
Percent correctly classified=71.40			

Table 3

Mean Replies to Key Uses-and-Gratifications Statements

For Read Newsmagazine(s) Within Past Month

Independent Variables: (Discriminant Functions in Parentheses)		Dependent Variable(s): (Discriminant Functions in Parentheses)		
		Read Newsmagazines:		Did not read
		Subscribe (-0.436)	Read (-0.767)	(+0.199)
Get more information on things I've seen such as movies, sports events, and accidents	(-0.491)	3.30	<u>3.52</u>	3.00
Get immediate knowledge of big news events	(-0.358)	<u>3.01</u>	2.87	2.59
Get information to pass on to other people	(-0.347)	<u>3.84</u>	3.79	3.54
Get exciting, dramatic, and entertaining news	(-0.330)	3.42	<u>3.52</u>	3.05
Understand what is going on	(-0.226)	<u>3.74</u>	3.73	3.39
Be happy	(+0.127)	3.02	3.10	<u>3.20</u>
By being my friend when I am alone	(+0.396)	3.18	2.73	<u>3.12</u>
Find products through advertisements	(+0.428)	3.24	3.25	<u>3.43</u>
Keep me informed about what is happening in my local community	(+0.562)	2.66	2.42	<u>2.63</u>
Number of respondents:		<u>91</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>400</u>
Eigenvalue(s):	0.12			
Canonical Correlation:	0.33			
Wilks' Lambda:	0.97			
Chi-square Goodness-of-fit = 14.24; df=8; p 0.10				
Percent correctly classified=49.17				

Table 4

Mean Replies to Key Uses-and-Gratifications Statements

For Read Consumer Magazine(s) Within Past Month

Independent Variables:	(Discriminant Functions in Parentheses)	Dependent Variable(s) (Discriminant Functions in Parentheses)		
		<u>Read Consumer Magazine(s)</u>		<u>Did not read</u>
		<u>Subscribe</u> (+0.279)	<u>Read</u> (+0.107)	<u>(-0.468)</u>
Improve the quality of my lifestyle	(+0.353)	3.51	3.36	3.06
Understand what is going on	(+0.340)	3.58	3.55	3.29
Find issues affecting people like myself	(+0.332)	3.75	3.53	3.33
Get information to pass on to other people	(+0.282)	3.72	3.78	3.35
Be happy	(+0.256)	3.29	3.22	2.93
Find products through advertisements	(+0.250)	3.50	3.51	3.13
Just pass the time	(+0.190)	3.71	3.77	3.49
By being my friend when I am alone	(-0.103)	3.21	3.11	2.91
Get exciting, dramatic, and entertaining news	(-0.238)	3.14	3.23	3.13
Get more information on things I've seen such as movies, sports events, or accidents	(-0.255)	3.03	3.29	3.06
Get immediate knowledge of big news events	(-0.266)	2.66	2.62	2.77
Keep me informed about what is happening in my local community	(-0.329)	2.59	2.58	2.67
Number of Respondents:		<u>244</u>	<u>125</u>	<u>174</u>
Eigenvalue(s):	0.108			
Canonical Correlation:	0.313			
Wilks' Lambda:	0.874			

Chi-square Goodness-of-fit = 72.065; df=24; p 0.01

Percent Correctly Classified=42.70

Notes

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- ⁵ Allen Lichtenstein and Lawrence B. Rosenfeld, "Uses and Misuses of Gratifications Research," Communication Research 10 (January 1983): 97-110.
- ⁶ Ibid, p. 106.
- ⁷ Lee B. Becker, "Measurement of Gratifications"; Jay G. Blumler, "The Role of Theory in Uses and Gratifications Studies"; Judee Burgoon and Michael Burgoon, "The Functions of the Daily Newspaper"; and, Susan Kippax and John P. Murray, "Using Mass Media: Need Gratification and Perceived Utility."

- ⁸Jay G. Blumler, "The Role of Theory in Uses and Gratifications Studies"; and, Wayne M. Towers, "Newspaper Research and Some Uses-and-Gratifications," Paper presented to the Newspaper Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Athens, Ohio, August 1982.
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